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226 Porter (24, p. 112) describes the following rite which he observed, performed probably for the purpose of consecrating apparatus connected with the fishing industry, though possibly what he heard and witnessed was the recitation of the chant and performance of ceremonial in the sacred place, preceding the departure of a fishing expedition.

> In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

[781]

It appears that a skull (undoubtedly that of a deified chief or priest) sometimes played a part in these rites. Père Jean (19) describes the attendant of the tribal sacred place on Ua Pou carrying from the place a skull, which was entrusted to the fishermen to make the catch good and protect the fishermen from sharks. After the fishing was over, the skull was returned to the temple (*ahu*), the repository for the skulls of chiefs and priests.

[782] Pigs, *poke* and *kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) were carried to the fisherman's shrine as offerings. Waist cloths and collars made of pandanus seed were sometimes offered and appeals were made to the god for a large catch and favorable winds, and so on.

Tapu and Inauspicious Influences

226 Garcia (14, p. 70) says that certain parts of the coast were *tapu*, being restricted or consecrated to fishing. According to him, there was a general *tapu* affecting the whole valley or tribe at the time of a fishing expedition. On such a day all of those not engaged in the enterprise had to keep silence and remain inactive.

The spirit of the mother of a fisherman, called *ma'uhane*, played a great part in the success of an expedition. A man who had maltreated his mother or failed to give her a share of fish would catch nothing. (This has its counterpart in the belief that a man who quarreled with his mother before battle would be slain.) The wife of a fisherman had to fast when her husband was at sea; she was not permitted to leave her house, nor to indulge in sexual intercourse. (Women were similarly restricted in

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sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium.

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion.

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . .

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tewnen* (*ha'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly unclothed.

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspirational priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the inspirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to